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SUBJECT INDICATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL VULNERABILITIES

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(17-30 June 1952)

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## PARTY ACTIVITIES

The communist personnel problem, always conspicuous in discussions of Party affairs, is again aired by a number of regional transmitters. Shortcomings in Party activities, though usually traced to particular Committees or officials and "exposed", are neither incidental nor accidental: they are the inevitable concomitant of faulty personnel training. A general improvement in the functioning of the Party machinery, it is claimed, can only be brought about by improved cadre training and the ability of the various Party Committees to put the right man in the right place. A broadcast from Tbilisi (17 June) quotes the Communist boss of that oblast as intimating that the performance of the Party members is not calculated to inspire popular confidence. What the oblast Communist leadership has not yet acquired, according to the speakers, is "a non-conciliatory attitude toward shortcomings," and the basic reason for that is the inadequate qualification and distribution of leading personnel. Although the oblast Party Secretary confines himself to generalities without mentioning any Committees or officials, his observation on the activities of some of them is significant:

Impracticability, lack of perspective, red tape and mismanagement generate carelessness, political blindness a non-critical attitude toward one's work.

As reported from Minsk (18 June) the recently-held plenary session of the Central Committee of the Belorussian Party has discovered that most of the chronic Party shortcomings so virulently criticized in the past are being perpetuated in varying degrees. It is revealed, for example, that the "race for large numbers of new members" (pogonya za kolichestvom prinimayemikh) resulted in a relaxation in the investigation of individual candidates. Criticism from below (kritika snizu) is often ignored as is public opinion (obshchestvennoye mnenie), and the political education of Communist cadres is said to be "extremely unsatisfactory." Another objectionable tendency of the Communist officials highly criticized by the Central Committee is their "taking over" of various administrative functions and forgetting that the duty of the Party to "guide and supervise" only. Many Communist officials in the Republic are "showing little interest in Party-political work, in the selection, distribution and education of personnel" (malo interesuyutsia partiynopoliticheskoy rabotoy, podborom, rasstanovkoy i vospitaniem kadrov).

Unsatisfactory selection and distribution of Party cadres is also the verdict of the Central Committee of the Tadzhikistan Party (19 June). Nepotism and other corrupt practices in the matter of personnel placement, it appears, are still rather prevalent among the various Party Committees. As pointed out at the plenary session of the Central Committee,

People who proved a failure in one place are quietly transferred to similar posts in other places.

## Russian version:

Lyudei provalivshikhsia v odnom meste spokojno perestavlyaut na takie zhe posty v drugoye mesto.

A broadcast from Stalino (20 June) says that the handling of the Communist personnel problem in the oblast is sharply criticized both by RADYANSKA DONETSHCHINA and SOTSIALISTICHESKIY DONBAS. The two papers speak of the violation of Bolshevik principles in the selection and distribution of leading personnel, which is at the root of all Party troubles. Nothing short of a "basic improvement" (rezkoye uluchshenie) in the training of executive Party workers would eliminate the serious shortcomings and mistakes that still characterize their work. Several rayon Party Committee, in fact, "do not want to busy themselves" with cadre training: "there can be no condoning such a situation!"

In a long dispatch from Kirovograd carried by PRAVDA on 20 June (not broadcast), Okorokov makes disparaging comment on the growing tendency "to administrate" (administrativovanie) among the oblast Party leadership without regard to the subtler and more important issues such as political education or propaganda. These self-appointed administrators, says the author, believe that "hiring and firing of officials are the beginning and the end of personnel management" (naznachenie i smeshchenie rabotnikov - nachalo i konets rukovodstva kadrami). It is revealed, in this connection, that more than a third of First and Second Secretaries of rayon Party Committees and chairmen of Executive committees as well as about half of other Committee officials were replaced in 1951 alone. High-handed administrative measures are seen also in oblast Party's practice of imposing penalties on its membership for the slightest errors rather than improving its work by better training and education. Thus in 1951 alone about 10% of the oblast Communists were penalized and reprimanded for various misdemeanors. Similar penalties were meted out to about half of the collective farm chairmen and machine-tractor station directors.

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Severer penalties imposed on Party officials for unspecified offenses are reported in a broadcast from Tbilisi on 28 June. In Samtredia rayon, the First and Second Secretaries of the Party Committee, the Executive Committee chairman and the head of the Agricultural Administration were summarily expelled from the Party Bureau and removed from their posts. A similar but milder purge is said to have taken place in Vansky rayon where the First Secretary of the Party Committee was expelled from the Bureau.

Party meddling in the administration of non-Party affairs is denounced editorially by RADYANSKA UKRAINA on 17 June. As discussed in previous CPW reports, the Party has always frowned on the practice of many oblast and rayon Committees "taking over" the administration of certain slow branches of industry or agriculture for the ostensible purpose of "cleaning up the mess." The paper takes up the topic again to call attention to the still prevailing practice of uncalled-for Party interference:

Especially intolerable is the corrupt practice, which still persists here and there, whereby rayon Party Committees substitute for administrative organs, minimize their responsibility...and neglect political work.

Ukrainian version:

Osobливо neterpyma porochna praktyka, yaka shche zberigayetsia podekudy, koly raykomy partii pidminayut soboyu gospodarski organy, znizhuyut ikh vidpovidalnist... zanedbuyut politychnu rabotu.

It is also disclosed that certain Party organizations, aware of the unpopularity of their interference in someone else's business, have resorted to the so-called special-representative method. Party officials are usually "assigned" as special representatives (upovnovazheni) to collective farms or other organizations for lengthy periods of time to "administer on behalf of the Party".

The "fluidity" (tekuchist) of Communist personnel is the subject of a report from Kiev (26 June) on the recent session of the oblast Party Committee. This point, however, is not amplified beyond the announcement of the Session's finding that "there are serious shortcomings" in the selection, training and distribution of qualified personnel. The oblast Committee, in fact, blames itself for lack of contact with the lower Party organizations and their personnel management, and criticizes its members for their infrequent visits to the rayon Party and Soviet organs within their jurisdiction.

The understatement of political agitation, particularly in Ryazan oblast and Tashkent (Uzbek SSR), provides the substance for a critical PRAVDA editorial on 23 June. Political agitation in these places, the paper asserts, is missing the main point. Instead of enlightening the Communist and non-Party workers on current political and ideological issues, these agitators have reduced their functions to "casual conversations (sluchaynie besedy) on narrow production and technical themes." The Trubetchinsk rayon Party Committee for example, has 700 agitators on its roster. About half of them are not doing any work at all, and the performance of the other half is at best unsatisfactory. At least partial responsibility for this state of affairs, says the paper, must be borne by the regional press which does not give adequate publicity to this important Party function:

It should be pointed out that certain Republican, krai, oblast, rayon and city newspaper seldom publish material for the aid to agitators... Book publishing houses put out virtually nothing to popularize the experience of the best agitators.

Russian version:

Neobkhodimo otmetit, chto nekotorie respublikanskie, krayevye, oblastnie, gorodskie i rayonnie gazety redko pechatayut materialy v pomoshch agitatoram... knizhnie izdatelstva pochtii ne vypuskayut literaturu ob opyte raboty luchshikh agitkollektivov.

At least two regional sources refer to the Komsomol organizations as affected by the same occupational disease as their Communist Party mentors, that is inadequate selection and training of Secretaries and other officials. STALINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA (22 June) says that

while Komsomol Committees must be held accountable for their own political sins, final responsibility rests on the Primary Party organizations whose duty it is to supervise young Communists' activities. Komsomol work in the rural areas, --collective farms and forestry establishments--is said to be particularly reprehensible, but the nature of their misdemeanors is not mentioned. They are merely urged to "insure better observance of State and Komsomol discipline." Discussing the same topic, ZARYA VOSTOKA (29 June) asserts that unsatisfactory Party leadership, as in Mayakovskiy rayon for example, has produced a bureaucratic type of Komsomol organizations which

are remaining aloof in the struggle against the violators of the agricultural artel code, and against squandering and plundering of collective farm property.

This bureaucratic attitude, the paper concludes, is not confined to Mayakovskiy rayon alone. A similar situation is noted in Gurdzhaani and other rayons where both Party and Komsomol committees "are tolerating" a variety of failures in the work of the Communist youth organizations.

The tendency of Party organizations, particularly in the rural areas, to plunge into administrative work, relegating Party-political work to a secondary place, is inveighed against by KIROVOGRADSKA PRAVDA on 28 June. Such a departure from the chief function of the Party, the paper declares, has an overall "negative effect on the economic side." Communist officials are again reminded that it is not their business to run the collective farms: what the farms need is politically-enlightened kolkhozniks who could run them well themselves. The Party Committees are therefore urged to refrain from direct interference in agricultural administration, and concentrate their efforts on the political education and training of the collective farmers. Only that way, it is claimed, can "proper coordination between political and economic work" be brought about.

#### AGRICULTURE

Make hay while the sun shines, in a literal sense, is the common denominator of the agricultural propaganda in the period under review. In a concerted drive to insure sufficient winter fodder for the livestock, the regional press and radio call for maximum exertion on the part of everyone concerned to attain that goal and avoid a repetition of last year's failure. Repeated references to the unenviable progress of the livestock industry in 1951 are coupled with exhortations to farmers and local officials about the urgency of attending to that branch of agriculture--even at the height of the grain-harvesting season. The creation of a permanent fodder base, says a report from Orel on 24 June, is of paramount importance regardless of the particular agricultural season. Failure to do that amounts to a "kolkhoz code violation" (narushenie selkhozustava). A number of (unnamed) rayons in the oblast, however, have failed to do just that. The oblast Party "aktiv" is reported to have discovered a variety of shortcomings ranging from inadequate attention to industrial crops, such as kok-sagyz and hemp, to lack of technical preparations for the harvesting and total lack of attention to hay mowing. No further details are offered, however.

KIROVOGRADSKA PRAVDA (27 June) lists Malovyskovskiy, Rovnyanskiy and other rayons as the slowest in point of fodder preparations. Just how far behind the hay-making plan these rayons are may be gathered from the editorial critical reference to the performance of two other, and presumably more advanced, rayons of the oblast. The grass-mowing plan in Znamenskiy rayon is said to have been fulfilled by only 32.4% while the figure for Novomirgorodskiy rayon is 33.3%.

A letter to Stalin from the Kazakh SSR farmers (27 June) states laconically that "we remain greatly indebted to the State" (my ostalis v bolshom dolgu pered gosudarstvom) for last year's failures, among them the failure to secure a fodder base (kormovaya baza) for the Republic's livestock. This statement is further amplified in a dispatch from Alma-Ata two days later quoting an official progress report on hay-mowing and silaging operations for the period ending 25 June, 1952. The above-mentioned great indebtedness to the State of last year, it appears, is nowhere near being paid off this year:

In Taldy Kurgan, Alma Ata and Karaganda oblasts the mowing of ...perennial grasses is progressing at a very slow pace. In North Kazakhstan, Pavlodar and East Kazakhstan oblasts more than half of the mowed hay is rotting...in Guryev, Karaganda, Kzyl Orda, Kustanai and Pavlodar oblasts no silaging operations have been carried out.

Stalin is "informed" in a letter from the farmers of the model Moscow oblast (27 June) that a number of backward agricultural artels are hampering the progress of the livestock industry because of the "lack of proper attention to the matter of establishing a solid feed base"

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(net dolzhnoy zaboty o sozdanii prochnoy kormovoy bazy). A letter to the leader from the Mari ASSR agricultural workers (19 June) speaks of the collective farms in the Republic which

fail to secure a solid feed base for the public livestock...and have not yet achieved the necessary expansion of the wheat-and flax-sown areas.

Russian version:

ne obezpechivayut obshchestvennoye zhivotnovodstvo prochnoy kormovoy bazoy...do sikh por ne dobilis neobkhodimogo razchireniya posevnykh ploshchadey pshe-nitsy i lna.

A PRAVDA editorial of 26 June decries the slow hay-mowing tempos in the Kuban, the Crimea, Kabardine ASSR, Saratov and Stalingrad oblasts. The livestock industry in the mentioned areas will be adversely affected if decisive steps towards the improvement of fodder procurement are not taken now. Such measures, the paper says, will be more difficult to implement after grain-harvesting has been started, since at that time the "exertion...will be many times greater than it is now" (trudovoye napriazhenie...budet vo mnogo raz bolshe, nezhe li seichas).

A MOLOT editorial (22 June) says that the serious shortage of fodder in 1951--like in Dubovskiy rayon, for example--has apparently not changed the indifferent attitude of the Rostov oblast officials. They are still "failing to give due attention" to fodder procurement this year. A broadcast from Stavropol (20 June) quoting STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA, says that in some rayons the hay-mowing performance was as low as 25% of the planned total by 15 June.

The construction of farm buildings, much of it long overdue, is still lagging behind the "growing demands" (zroslykh potreb) of the Republic's collective farms, says RADYANSKA UKRAINIA editorially on 26 June. In a marked departure from the familiar method of citing comparative percentage figures, the paper presents what looks like a semi-annual failure report:

In this half year the collective farms of our Republic were to construct 8,158 buildings to accommodate 950,000 head of cattle and 1,900 poultry sheds for 1,900 units of fowl. In the first five months, this semi-annual plan was completed by only 25.6% for cattle shelters and 19.9% for poultry sheds.

Ukrainian version:

Za pivroku kolgospy nashoi respubliky mayut sporudyty 8,158 prymishchen dlya khudoby - na 950 tysyach goliv i 1,900 ptashnykyv dlya rozmishchennya 1,900 tysyach shtuk ptytsi. Za pyat misiatsiv pivrichnyi plan budivnytstva tvaryntskykh prymishchen vykonanyi tilky na 25.6% i ptashnykiv - na 19.9%.

The production of building materials for farm construction, such as brick and tile, is, according to the paper, "still farther behind" (shche bilshe vidstaye). Singled out for special censure in this connection is Vinnytsa oblast whose 168 brick factories, which were 16 million bricks short of the 1951 target, are still lagging behind the plan. The semi-annual farm-construction plan in that oblast has been completed by 21.8%.

Collective farm statute violations, occasionally referred to under the franker title of "disposition to private property" (chastno-sobstvennicheskie nastroyeniya), are reported by the Ukrainian Party boss Melnikov in his address before a recent Republican conference of rural Party Secretaries (17 June). Citing instances of "flagrant infringement" of the kolkhoz statute in Odessa, Rovno, Poltava and other oblasts, he urges "severest penalties" for the violators who, it is implied, are not always penalized. Pursuing the statute-violation theme, Melnikov hints at at least three possible contributing factors. First, the farmers' attitude toward manifestations of a "private property disposition" is somewhat less intolerant than the Party would like to see it: "the hatred of the people must be strengthened against those who infringe the statute"; Secondly, charter violations, one of the gravest agricultural crimes, can be committed only by those in a position to do so with a reasonable chance of impunity: "it is necessary to struggle firmly against appointing chairmen who are not wanted by kolkhozniks, who infringe agricultural statute..."; Thirdly, the old "family-circle

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atmosphere" (atmosfera semei-stvennosti) among Party and other local officials which makes it difficult to stamp out abuses: "Some members of the Party are not shining examples of developing criticism...they consider it necessary to live in peace with everyone."

BOLSHEVITSKOYE ZNAMYA (27 June) calls for a ruthless struggle against the "tendency to acquire private property" but qualifies the statement by saying that education and enlightenment must be used as the principal weapons. Such tendencies, it says, can be countered only by an intensified training of the collective farmers in the spirit of a "Communist attitude" toward communal property. A broadcast from Tbilisi (28 June) quotes an article by Slanadze carried by ZARYA VOSTOKA as calling for "urgent measures" to combat kolkhoz statute violations, embezzlement and squandering of kolkhoz property in Kutaici oblast. Here, too, the measures to fight agricultural crimes are defined as lecture propaganda and "all other means" of political enlightenment. A summarized NADDNEPRYANSKA PRAVDA editorial (27 June) refers to the statute violations in Kherson oblast as "bringing losses to kolkhoz property as a whole, and to incomes of individual kolkhozniks as well." There is no further amplification of the statement beyond the conclusive editorial remark that "this cannot be tolerated."

An appeal to the collective farm bookkeepers and accountants to contribute their share in the fight against statute violations, often resorted to in the past, was broadcast by Blasun from Nikolayev on 27 June. "Correct accounting" and "proper bookkeeping entries", it is asserted, could do much toward the elimination of possible abuses. This is particularly important during the harvesting period when the computation of work days and payments to kolkhozniks requires more accuracy and skill than is normally the case. But correct accounting, the speaker admits, is not a sine qua non in the kolkhozes of Voznesenskiy, Oktiabrskiy, Varavarovskiy, Lysogorskiy and some other unnamed rayons.

Technical preparedness for the harvesting season gets less attention than in previous weeks. SOTSIALISTICHESKIY DONBAS (18 June) says that "hundreds of combine harvesters" and other agricultural machines are still waiting to be overhauled in Stalino oblast. The harvesting season in Kostroma oblast is not far away, according to SEVERNAYA PRAVDA (27 June), but the repair of self-propelled and horse-drawn agricultural machines in the oblast as a whole is "proceeding unsatisfactorily." The oblast leaders are said to be "intolerably slow" in getting their technical equipment into good shape at a time when every hour counts. Nor is the qualified personnel available to operate the machines after they have been repaired, the paper points out. It is suggested, therefore, that short-term courses for machine operators be opened at collective farms and machine-tractor stations in order "to insure the uninterrupted work of combines" during the harvest season. PRAVDA UKRAINY (27 June) reminds its readers that many machine-tractor stations in the Republic "have not yet prepared themselves for the harvest campaign" but makes no reference to any particular localities. The paper suggests a "correct distribution" of Communist Party members in the key sectors of kolkhoz production so that they could encourage the rank-and-file farmer to greater efforts by "personal example" (lichnym primerom).

Kolkhoznik Resettlement Encouraged: MOLOT (28 June) speaks of the "influx of able-bodied population" (pritok trudosposobnogo naselenia) required for the expansion of collective farming in the irrigated Don river area. Farmers from many oblasts and even Republics of the country are reported to be resettling, on a voluntary basis, in Romanovskiy, Martynovskiy, Semikarskovskiy, Bataysk, Veselovskiy, Aksai, Azov and other rayons of Rostov oblast. The new settlers are exempt from insurance payments and compulsory deliveries to the state for the first two years. The local officials of some of the mentioned rayons, however, have not made such resettlement very easy by failing to provide adequate housing for the newcomers. In some of the rayons, housing construction has been "completely disrupted" by the failure of the oblast Consumers Unions to provide the necessary lumber and other building materials. This "completely intolerable" situation, the paper concludes, must be remedied at once so that the necessary conditions for productive efforts on the part of the new farmers may be created.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

An announcement (ogoloshennya) broadcast from Kirovograd on 27 June states that industrial and medicinal oils are being produced from the cores of plum and cherry pits. The citizens are therefore urged to collect and deliver these pits, for appropriate remuneration, to specified shops and "administrations" in rural and city districts.